426 even to his sons until he thinks he is about to die. Loans and other business transactions involving money are always made publicly, in the presence of witnesses, even when they are between members of the same lineage.

423 In discussing the Tanala ideas of property it is necessary to distinguish at the outset between land and property of all other sorts. To understand the native attitude toward land, the local conditions must be kept in mind. In pre-European times the popula- [36] tion was sparse and apparently almost static. The villages lay far apart, each one surrounded by a great stretch of uninhabited [433] forest. The natural supply of forest products and of land for pasture always exceeded the local needs. Moreover, the *tavy* method of agriculture required that the land be allowed to lie fallow for from five to ten years between plantings. Under such conditions there was little incentive for individual ownership.

423 In pre-European times the ultimate ownership of land was ●621 vested in the village. Each village owned a definite territory whose 596 limits were established at the time it was founded. The boundaries were usually rivers, mountain ranges or other natural divisions. [721] The villages were jealous of their rights and serious trespass, such as pasturing cattle or cutting *tavy*, would result in war. Transfer of land between lineages of the same village was permissible and not uncommon, but its sale to outsiders was impossible without the consent of the council. Actually, it was so rare as to be almost unknown.

The ownership of land within the village stockade was vested in the various lineages, except for the *kianza* ("village square"), which was common property. Each lineage owned a ward, which was usually a segment extending from the *kianza* to the stockade (see The Village). If a lineage grew too large for its ward, all the members contributed to buy land from the adjoining lineages. When one or more families withdrew to form a new lineage, the ward was divided.

Among the Menabe, fallow land and virgin jungle were, for all practical purposes, held in common. A villager was entitled to place beehives, set traps and gather timber and forest products [233] on any land which was not in use. Cattle could also be pastured anywhere, those of the entire village usually being kept in a single herd. For agricultural purposes the land was, at least in theory, divided into sectors running from the village to the limits of its territory. Each sector lay in the same direction with regard to

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the village that a ward within the village occupied with relation to the *kianza* and was the property of the lineage occupying that ward. Actually, the outlines of these lineage holdings were irregular. Their limits were set by natural boundaries and there was an attempt to equalize their value. 621 423 596

At the time of making the *tany*, the lineage land was temporarily divided among the various families, but it reverted to the lineage as soon as the crop was harvested. Lineage land, or, more correctly, the right to use it for agricultural purposes, was sometimes sold to members of other lineages within the village. This was a last resort and was only considered justifiable when some member of the lineage had been enslaved and his ransom could not be raised otherwise. It seems that such sales were often considered rather as pledges for loans, for every lineage tried to keep its land intact and would go to great lengths to buy back any which had been sold. When a lineage seceded from a village, it forfeited its land rights and its former territory could be occupied by the other lineages without recompense to it. 621 596 425

Among the Menabe two new developments in land ownership have occurred in recent times. Due to the increasing value of forest products, the lineages now preempt for their members the right to gather honey, wax and raffia within their territories. There is also an increasing tendency toward individual ownership of land. This is correlated with the introduction of irrigated rice culture. The preparation of rice beds requires much labor and they must be kept in repair constantly. A family which builds a terrace system is felt to have established its individual right to the land and retains it as long as the terraces remain in use. If the land is allowed to lie fallow for any length of time, however, it reverts to the lineage. This development is so recent that, as yet, there seems to be no rule regarding the sale of rice beds to members of other lineages. 423 178 596 [243]

Among the Ikongo the rules regarding land ownership seem to be much the same as among the Menabe except that individual ownership of rice fields is much older and better established. Such fields are inherited within the family and the lineage has little or no right over them. [184]

All property other than land is individually owned. This extends even to the least important tools and utensils. Everything in the establishment, from the house down, belongs to some particular member of the family. These rights of ownership are recognized even between parent and child in spite of the great theoretical power 421 593

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596 Thus, while the village and gens are permanent units, the lineages of which they are composed are constantly dissolving and changing, a given lineage rarely persisting more than four generations.

596 554 The lineage is a direct outgrowth of the family. It has already been said that married sons build their houses close to that of the father and that they and their children are under his control as long as he lives. If the brothers are friendly to each other, as is usually the case, they continue to live together after his death, keeping the family land holdings and cattle herd intact. The eldest son becomes the head of the group, in the father's place. He directs the common activities, settles internal disputes and acts as its representative in councils and minor sacrifices. His position is almost like that of the father and he is shown great respect by the other members. At the same time, he has no legal authority over his brothers or their children and must gain his ends by persuasion. As he usually receives more of the father's property than the younger sons, he is generally the richest member of the group and strengthens his position by gifts and loans to the rest. When he dies, his eldest son succeeds to the leadership and the group holds together until split by some serious internal dispute. The reason for such disputes is usually economic, but jealousy is also important in the third and fourth generations. A rich man who cannot succeed to the leadership of the lineage will often demand his share of the common property and found a new lineage.

The members of each lineage live together in a separate ward within the village. They herd their cattle together and help each other in making the *tavy* ("fields for hill rice"). All contribute to the support of poor and old members and, at funerals, all are assessed according to their wealth. Individual property rights are fully recognized, but there is a good deal of informal communism. Within the limits set by good taste, any member may use the tools, etc., belonging to any other, even in his absence. Food is shared freely. [454] In many cases the members will deposit their money with the head of the lineage, who acts as a sort of banker.

Blood ties between members of the same lineage are felt to be almost as close as those between members of the same family. Men and women use the same terms of relationship for each other as for [582] actual brothers and sisters. Marriage within the lineage, although permitted in some cases, is generally frowned upon.

THE VILLAGE

621 361 Until very recent times, isolated dwellings have been unknown among the Tanala, due to the constant danger of attack. The village

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organization is now breaking down and the following description applies to conditions among the Menabe fifty to seventy-five years ago. All the Tanala lived in villages of from fifty to eighty families. These villages were built in defensive positions, usually on hilltops, and were fortified by log palisades 10 to 12 feet high and often by deep ditches as well. There was always a ditch at the gate with a narrow bridge of earth leading to the entrance. The bridge was broken down if the villagers learned of an impending attack. In the center of the village there was an open space, long if the village was long and round if it was round, which was called the *kianza*. Bordering on this there was a large house, called by some gentes the *trano be*, by others the *lapa*. This was usually to the east of the *kianza*, but might be to the north or south, never to the west. It was used as a residence by the village chief or the head of one of the lineages. The *kianza* and *trano be* were employed for assemblies of all sorts.

The village was divided into wards, each the property of a lineage. As a rule, each ward fronted on the *kianza* and extended back to the palisade. The number of wards in a village was variable, ranging from two to ten or more. In general old villages showed the greatest number, due to the formation of new lineages through internal disputes. At least in theory, the land belonging to each lineage lay in the same direction in relation to the village that its ward occupied in relation to the *kianza*. When a village moved, each lineage took up a ward and land in the same relative position at the new site. This arrangement was not correlated with differences in social rank or prestige, nor was one direction considered more desirable than another. The only explanation given by the Menabe was that this was an ancient custom.

There were certain things which belonged to the village as a whole. The *tepanony* was a charm or fetish concocted by an *ombiasy* at the time the village was founded. It was believed to protect the villagers from sickness, lightning, and the attacks of malevolent ghosts, but did not protect against enemies. It was buried inside a small stone enclosure in the *kianza* (see Manufacture and Use of Charms). Although great importance was attached to it, it figured little, if at all, in the religious and ceremonial life of the villagers. The village sacred place, always outside the palisade and sometimes a mile or more away, was used for all the more important rites. Here the stones commemorating the dead were set up and the sacrifices made to the ancestors, without distinction of lineage. Each village also had its tomb or tombs, varying from one to three in number, which

1: Linton E-3 (1926-27) 1933 FYS Tanala FYS

174 563 the invaders lived in compact gentile groups, but in time certain families or lineages left the gens territory and settled among the aborigines, seizing control. These small ruling groups kept touch with their parent gens for a time and relied on it for support, but they intermarried with their subjects and fused with them racially and culturally. Their descendants in the male line came to constitute a noble caste with representatives in all the groups. Although these nobles claimed a common origin and were jealous of their social privileges they no longer considered themselves as a political unit. Although they would assist each other if the commoners rose against them, they frequently fought among themselves, leading their followers of aboriginal stock against each other. Even in such wars they still recognized the blood bond to the extent that it was taboo for a commoner to kill the enemy king, although a noble would do so without hesitation (see Warfare).

621 [622] Apparently there were many Ikongo villages which did not include lineages of *hova* ("noble") caste. Even when they were present their influence was not preponderant in local affairs. The village government was essentially the same as the Menabe. There was an elected chief, usually not a noble, who acted as executive, and a *Fokonolona* ("council"). Each gens had a chief called the *Mpanzaka* who was 618 565 elected from the members of the *hova* caste. Prerequisites for the office were the same as for the Menabe *Anakandriana*. The *Mpanzaka* was chosen by the village chiefs and *Notables* of the entire gens, irrespective of caste, and could be deposed at will. Associated with him were one or more officials called *Anakandriana*, who were elected on the same basis and in the same way as the *Mpanzaka*, but must be of *rahoaka* ("common") caste. Theoretically the *Anakandriana* acted as counselors and executives, but actually they often seem to have had as much power as the *Mpanzaka*, who was unable to remove them from office. The whole arrangement strongly suggested a dual chieftainship.

631 [643] 618 646 Kingdoms arose, as among the Menabe, through one gens acquiring domination over others. The king, also called *Mpanzaka*, was chosen from among the *hova* of the dominant group. Like the gens chiefs, he was assisted by elected *Anakandriana* whom he could not dismiss. These *Anakandriana* might be chosen from any gens within the kingdom, but were always of *rahoaka* caste. Usually all gentes were represented among them and they formed a sort of permanent council with a sharp check on the conduct of the *Mpanzaka*. They exercised executive functions and continued in office

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rich family. It is the chief of the *hibory* who offers the sacrifices and addresses the prayers to the ancestors." 764

Very little additional information was obtained but this seems to indicate that all the members of a gens do not necessarily use the same *hibory* and I suspect that every village of long standing has one of its own. The office of guardian of the *hibory* also seems to be much less important than among the southeast coast tribes. Early writers say that the Ilongo simply buried their dead in the forest and it seems possible that their use of the *hibory* has been borrowed from the eastern tribes in comparatively recent times. [521]

Informants from the Tanala Menabe say that some of their northern gentes have true gens tombs which are used by as many as ten or twelve villages. These consist of houses containing stone lined pits with three compartments. The bodies of men are placed in one compartment, those of women in another and those of children in the third. The type would seem to be almost identical with that used by the southeast coast tribes, but informants thought that there was no special guardian of the tomb. They were not sure of this and spoke from hearsay rather than personal knowledge. 764 613

Among the rest of the Menabe each village has two or three tombs which are in simultaneous use. As a rule the corpses are put in the different tombs in rotation, but the village chief or council may also designate the tomb to be used. New tombs may be built either by the village as a whole, when the old ones are in danger of becoming overcrowded, or by individuals. The builder of a tomb acquires prestige and can specify certain things in regard to it, as that it shall be used only for men or that the men's and women's bodies shall be kept separate in it, but its use never seems to be limited to his direct descendants. 764 [520] [559]

The tombs themselves are of three types: natural caves, rock shelters and houses. Caves are used when possible and if a good one is discovered within a reasonable distance of the village the dead are often moved into it. In the case of rock shelters a large box of heavy planks with a plank cover is built under the overhang where it will be protected from the weather. Some of these boxes are said to be very large, with room for a hundred or more bodies. If neither caves nor rock shelters are available, the *hibory* consists of a large rectangular pit lined with dry stone masonry and covered with stone slabs or planks. The earth is heaped above in a mound and a house built over the whole. The *hibory* are always hidden in dense brush at least a half hour's march from the village.

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793 749 628 According to native belief each gens has arisen through the expansion of a single family (see Social Organization) which increased to a lineage, then to a village, and finally to a series of villages. At first the head of the family sacrificed to the ancestors, then, as the related group grew larger, the office became more formal and was vested in the head of the family which was in most direct line of descent from the gens ancestor, reckoning through eldest children. Finally through various causes such as settlement of part of the group at a distance, failure of the direct line, etc., the strict succession was broken down.

793 623 618 Among the Betsileo at the present time every village of long standing has its priest. When a new village is founded, the priest of the parent village is expected to come to it on request and make sacrifices there. Finally, when the new village has existed for two or three generations and lost its feeling of unity with the old village, or when the priest becomes weary of making the necessary journeys, the head of the ranking family in the new village asks permission from the original priest to assume the priestly office. This then becomes hereditary in his family. There seems to be no formal investiture for a new priest, but the office cannot be assumed without the original priest's permission. In the *Zafindriamaroa* gens the priest of the parent village is called the *Tova Pitsokasomanga*, those of the offshoot villages simply *Pitsokasomanga*. The *Tova Pitsokasomanga* officiate at sacrifices in his own village and at those performed in behalf of the group of villages as a whole. The *Pitsokasomanga* are considered his deputies and ask his permission when they are to perform the more important sacrifices. Most of the Betsileo gentes seem to have a similar, but rather less formal organization. In general, the priest of the parent village has no real control over the priests of the younger villages and there is no central religious authority, even within the gens.

793 928 Although the priestly office remains in the family of the original priest of a village, the exact method of inheritance varies somewhat with the gens. Among the *Zafindriamaroa* the priests are always men. The office passes, at the death of a priest, to his younger brother and thus through the whole line of brothers. At the death of the last it reverts to the eldest son of the original priest, his brothers' children being debarred even if their fathers have held the office. If the eldest child of the original priest is a girl, the office, after it has been held by her brothers in succession, reverts to her children.

powder on the middle of his forehead, on either cheek and on his tongue. In general, the only charms which will be discarded are evil ones which have accomplished their object.

Charms for the family or lineage are much less numerous than those for the individual. Nearly all such groups seem to have *only* *one* (charms to bring general good fortune), which are kept in the dwelling of the family head. There are also charms against hail and locusts. Apparently one family or individual in each village will have such a charm which is used for the benefit of the whole group. The locust charm, *ody tsiloly*, consists of a small basket containing scrapings from the roots and shoots of a plant called *ramoinomoe*. The name means "to make clouds," because a little [smoke rises up when the ghost is out. When a locust swarm is sighted, the charm is brought out and hung on a pole on the side of the *kianga* ("village square") from which the locusts are coming. A fire is made under it with the leaves of the same plant, producing dense clouds of smoke. The charm against hail was not learned. Among the pagan Imerina, every village had its hail and locust charms, each with its guardian, who received a small subsidy from the inhabitants.

Every Tanala village has a charm and many have two. The main charm is called the *tsiporoy*. Some famous *ombiasy* is called in to make it at the time the village is founded. He determines the proper materials by divination, pounds them together, adds a piece of silver money, and then buries the whole in the center of the *kianga* ("village square"). Over the charm are planted roots of four plants, the *aviavy* ("taro"), *ody fafaro*, *akihitra*, and *arivotambolona*. The spot is usually enclosed by a little rectangle of stone slabs set on edge. In some villages the plants are watered and tended, in others they have been allowed to die. If the village moves as a whole, the *tsiporoy* is usually dug up and reinterred at the new site. The *tsiporoy* protects the village from pestilence, also from lightning and malevolent ghosts, if the divination has shown that there will be danger from these at the site chosen. It does not protect from enemy attack.

The second village charm is known as the *kowoy* and has the special function of protecting from enemies. Apparently most villages had a *kowoy* in ancient times, but with the establishment of peace they have become unnecessary and have mostly disappeared. The *kowoy* was placed in a small fenced enclosure just outside the principal gate. Apparently the form was rather variable. In a few cases it seems to have been a wooden image, set with its face toward

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621 787 777 the path. That at Ambohimanga, the former capital of the Tanala Menabe, was made from various leaves buried in the earth. Over this a large-leaved plant, also called the *kosay*, was planted. Each year the top of the plant was cut off and the bark scraped from the stump for 2 or 3 inches below. The right ear of an ox was cut and blood from it rubbed on the stump. Leaves were plucked from the plant, pounded, and mixed with water which was given to the ox to drink. The ox was the property of the village *ombiasy* and the same one was used each year. After this inoculation the ox was turned loose in the forest. The ox was restless, wandering constantly, and whenever he crossed the trail of an enemy coming to attack the village he would begin bellowing and would come at once to the *kosay* and stand there bellowing. The direction from which he came showed that from which the enemy was coming and the villagers would have time to prepare for the attack.

777 342 In addition to the types of charms just outlined there were charms to bless houses and bring fortune to their inhabitants. These were buried on the site before the house was built.

925 777 The crocodiles in the Manandriana River were rendered innocuous by a charm thrown into the river long ago. The *fady* for this charm was that in crossing the river one must paddle with a spade or axe instead of a regular paddle and that one must not wash a *lambo mena* ("shroud") in it. So long as these rules were observed the crocodiles did no damage, but they have been ignored since the coming of the French, with the result that crocodiles now carry off domestic animals, although they still do not attack people.

The native name for charms in general is *tamonga*, *mokara* or *ody*, the terms being used interchangeably.

HEALING

755 One of the principal duties of the *ombiasy* is healing. When a person becomes ill he goes to the *ombiasy*, or sends for him, and pays an advance fee of 1.20 to 1.50 francs, arranging at the same time for a larger fee to be paid after the cure. The *ombiasy* makes the *sikidy* to learn the cause of the illness and prescribes from his knowledge, or, if the case is not clear, makes the *sikidy* a second time to find the remedy. The remedy is usually a mixture of herbs, compounded as a charm. Part of the charm is put in water. The sick person drinks some of this and bathes his whole body with the rest. Another part of the medicine is done up in a little cloth bag and worn around the patient's neck. There is always a *fady* which the patient

418 branches. The enemy saw them, thought no man could be there,
789 and went on.

The Zafindramanavory and the Zafimamotra have no *fady*. The latter are a newly arrived group who have come from the Betsileo country within six generations. They live among the Zafikatsy and imitate their *fady* to some extent.

In marriages between gentes, men always keep the *fady* of their gens and these descend to their children even if the family is matrilocal. At the same time, children of a matrilocal marriage will usually observe the *fady* of both their father's and mother's gentes, as a matter of courtesy. Women retain the *fady* of their own gens until after the birth of the first child, when they adopt those of their husbands. Very often they will practice both. If a woman belongs to a gens which has no *fady*, she will adopt her husband's *fady* at once.

The gens *fady* just described is the only thing in Tanala culture which might suggest totemism and it would require a considerable stretching of even that much abused term to include such phenomena within its scope. There is nowhere any idea of descent from, or even collateral relationship with, the *fady* animal and in many instances the members of the gens are quite willing to kill it. Even those who will not kill it themselves will often encourage Europeans to do so. I was more than once asked to hunt wild pig which were damaging plantations belonging to gentes to which they were *fady*. There are no ceremonies to increase the *fady* animals, no representations of these animals are used in art, and their names are never used to designate gentes.

784 621 In addition to the *fady* observed by gentes, each village has its own particular *fady*, given by an ombiasy at the time the village was founded. I suspect that such *fady* are a part of the ikpanony or village charm, which was also given to the village at this time, but the natives were not clear on this point. In some villages it was *fady* to allow strangers to enter on certain days of the week. If the visitors were important they would be lodged in a house outside the stockade and their wants attended to there. Pork could not be brought into Antsahimanga or Apoviranisata, or castor oil beans or oil into Avahitarivo. In certain villages it was *fady* to bring a rice mortar in unless the mouth was covered with a sieve. This was because the mortar had a big opening and to bring it in uncovered would leave a big opening in the magical defenses of the village, through which all sorts of evil could enter.

The breaking of a village *fale* entails injury to the whole village and may be punished by a fine or by rough handling on the part of the villagers. However, there seems to be no attempt at purification. The breaking of a *gase fale* affects only the person who has broken it. If forbidden food has been eaten, the offender puts a silver bracelet in water and then gargles with the water, saying: "I have eaten something forbidden, and for this reason I gargle with silver water. I wash myself now that I may be purified and that the offense may not cause me illness or accident." The purification is performed in private and neither gods nor ancestors are invoked.

Fale are imposed by *aniniu* or by an ancestor upon his descendants. Apparently there is no method by which they can be revoked. The only thing which corresponds to the temporary and revokable taboos which are such an important feature of Polynesian culture is the prohibition which a person may put upon entering his house. If a man wishes to be undisturbed, he will set up a ring of grass or vine in a cleft stick outside the door. The observance of such a prohibition is simply a matter of good manners and the custom seems to have no religious implications.

OMENS

The Tuvalu pay relatively little attention to signs or omens. Those which are recognized are known to everyone. A man may sometimes consult an *aniniu* to learn the meaning of some peculiar and unnatural happening which he feels must be significant, but I could not learn that *aniniu* themselves ever consult omens before coming to a decision. They believe the *nikiu* to be so effective that all other forms of divination are unnecessary.

The commonest and most generally recognized omens are as follows: If one sees an *anitanapu* (a species of large walking stick insect) it is a sign of approaching death in his family or village. This is because the legs of the animal stretch out in front and behind like the poles of a bier. The size of the animal indicates the importance of the person who will die and its color that of the shroud in which the body will be wrapped.

If a snake called *fuatiumaka* (a small species about 2 to 2½ feet long and 1 inch in diameter) crosses one's path or enters the house, a member of the family will die.

If a person going on a journey sees a crocodile lying in the sun, it is a sure sign that he will die on the journey.